

Polit. Pamphlet vol III.
A
COLLECTION
OF
LETTERS

PUBLISH'D IN
OLD ENGLAND:

OR, THE
CONSTITUTIONAL JOURNAL.



LONDON:

Printed for W. WEBB, near *St. Paul's*.

(Price One Shilling.)

5 Feb. — 2 April 1743

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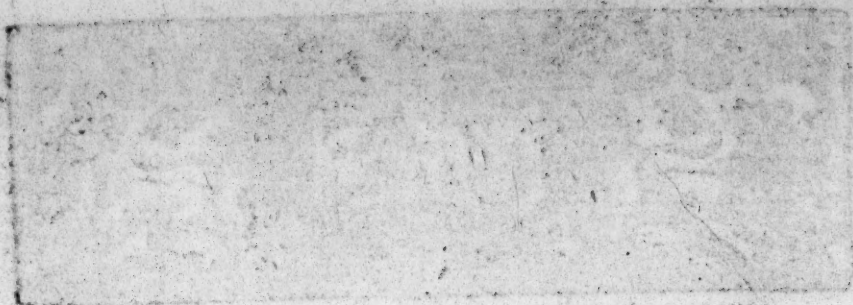
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TO THE
READER.

THE following Letters having occasion'd a great Noise in the World by their suppos'd Author and Printer being seiz'd, and confin'd in the Custody of the Messengers of State, and they being now not to be had in single Papers, we thought the Public would be pleas'd with having a Collection of the Whole at a moderate Price.



ИЛИ О Т



OLD ENGLAND:
OR, THE
CONSTITUTIONAL JOURNAL.

By JEFFREY BROADBOTTOM, of Covent-Garden, Esq;

SATURDAY, FEBRUARR 5, 1743. [No 1.



It has generally been the Custom with our Hebdomadal and Diurnal Authors to preface their Works with an Account of their *Birth*, *Parentage*, and *Education*; the *Company* they keep, and several other *curious Particulars* relating to their own Persons: But, as I am of Opinion that it is more proper for a Writer to endeavour to recommend his *Business* than his *Person* to the Public, I shall inform my Reader of the one, and leave him to indulge the Pleasure of Conjecture as to the other.

We are told by Criticks that *Definitions* ought to be conceived in as plain, concise Terms as possible. The World naturally expects that a publick Writer should, at his Outset, acquaint them with his Principles, Views, and Motives of Writing; therefore, I intend, in Compliance with this Expectation, to acquaint my Reader in very plain Terms with those

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several Particulars. This is fair; if he likes the Definition of each, he will be curious to know the several Propositions deduc'd from them, and perhaps be prevail'd on to encourage the Doctrine arising upon the whole: If, on the other Hand, he should dislike them, there is but little Harm done; he knows what he is to expect, and will hereafter save both himself and me the Mortification of any farther Interviews with one another.

All Experience convinces me, that 90 Men out of 100, when they talk of forming *Principles*, mean no more than embracing *Parties*, and when they talk of *supporting their Party*, mean serving their *Friends*, and the Service of their *Friends*, implies no more than *consulting Self Interest*. By this Gradation, *Principles* are fitted to *Party*, *Party* degenerates into *Faction*, and *Faction* is reduc'd to *Self*. For this Reason I openly declare that I think no honest Man will implicitly embrace any *Party*, so as to attach himself to the Persons of those who form it. I am firmly of Opinion, that both in the last and present Age, this Nation might have been equally well serv'd either by Whigs or Tories; and if she was not, it was not because *their Principles* were contrary to *her Interest*, but because their Conduct was inconsistent with their *Principles*.

To extend this View a little farther, I am entirely persuaded that in the Words *Our present happy Establishment*, the Happiness mentioned there is that of the *Subjects*; and that, if that Establishment should make the Prince happy and the Subjects otherwise, it would be very justly term'd *our present unhappy Establishment*. I apprehend the Nation did not think King *James* unworthy of the Crown meerly that he might make way for the Prince of *Orange*; nor can I conceive that they ever precluded themselves from dealing by King *William* in
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the same Manner as they had done by King *James*, if he had done as much to deserve such a Treatment: Neither can I in all my Search find, that when the Crown was settled in a *hereditary* Line upon the present Royal Family, the People of *Great Britain* ever sign'd any formal Instrument of Recantation, by which they express'd their Sorrow and Repentance of what they had done against King *James*, and protested that they would never do so by any future Prince tho' reduc'd to the same melancholy Necessity. I farther think the People settled the Crown upon the Family of *Hanover* neither from any Opinion which they entertain'd of *Infallibility* in all the future Princes which that illustrious House was to produce, nor from their being persuaded that the Crown of this Kingdom, in Right of Blood, belong'd to that House, but because they thought that the Government of those Princes bade fairest to make themselves happy. They thought that Princes of that House having fewer Connections with any Interest upon the Continent, destructive to that of *Great Britain*, would be more *independant*, and less incumbered with any *foreign Concern*, and consequently more at Liberty to act for the Interest of this Nation. From these Considerations, as a Subject of *Britain*, and as an honest Man, I think myself bound, even in my individual Capacity, to oppose all Schemes destructive of those Effects, which I, in my Conscience, believe were the Reasons that induc'd this free People to raise the Head of the Family of H——r from being the youngest E——r in *Germany*, to be one of the most powerful Princes in *Europe*. I think that there can be no Treason equal to that of a Minister who would advise his Majesty to sacrifice his great Concerns to his *little* ones; because as I think his Majesty's Virtues have firmly rivetted him in the

Hearts of his Subjects, he is as sure of the Crown of *England*, as of the E——te of *H——r*; and therefore every Measure in favour of the latter, in prejudice of the former, is the blackest Treason both against the King and the People.

Such are my Principles, with Regard to the general System of our Constitution and Government; as to the particular Propositions to be deduc'd from these Principles, they will be the Subject of after Disquisition.

I am next to account for the Views of my Writing. I had always observed of the late very wicked M——rs, that tho' they did many infamous scandalous Things, and put up with many gross Affronts in Favour of *Foreign* Considerations, yet, I will do them the Justice to say it, *the Odium arising from their Measures always fell upon their own Persons*; and whatever the secret Springs of their Conduct might have been, yet we never saw the Safety and Profit of *H——n* Dominions, made in Parliament itself, the immediate, open, and avow'd Cause of sacrificing the nearest and the dearest Interests of this Nation. Questions indeed were carry'd for *Hessian* Troops, for extravagant Subsidies, for inconsistent Treaties and the like, but they never had the Impudence, the Insolence, or the Wickedness to bring *H——r* and *Great Britain*, as two Parties, before the Bar of their own Corruption, and then to pass a Verdict, by which the latter was render'd a Province to the former. It is against such as can be found wicked enough to do this that this Paper is undertaken; it is undertaken against those who have found the Secret of acquiring more Infamy in *ten Months* than their *Predecessors*, with all the Pains they took, could acquire in *twenty Years*. It is intended to vindicate the Honour of the Crown of *Great Britain*, and to assert the Interest of her
People

People against all Foreign Considerations ; to keep up the Spirit of *virtuous* Opposition to *wicked* Power ; to point out the Means of compleating the great End of the Revolution ; and, in short, to give the Alarm upon any future Attacks that may be made, either open or secret, of the *Government* upon the *Constitution*.

I am now to speak of the Motives for an Undertaking of this Kind : These are many, but some of them perhaps not quite so proper to be committed to the Public. We have seen the noble Fruits of a twenty Years Opposition blasted by the Connivance and Treachery of a few, who by all the Ties of Gratitude and Honour ought to have cherish'd and preserv'd them to the People : But this Disappointment ought to be so far from discouraging, that it should lend Spirit and Life to a new Opposition. The late one labour'd their Point for a much longer Term of Years, and against many greater Difficulties than any Opposition at present can be under any Apprehensions of encountering. They became a Majority, from a Minority of not above 87 or 88 in all ; they fought against an experienced General, and a National Purse, and the Questions they oppos'd were more *plausible* in their *Nature*, and less *dangerous* in their *Consequences* than any that have yet fallen within the System of their blundering Successors. At present, the Friends of their Country, who have already declared themselves, have Advantages which their Predecessors could never compass, even after twenty Years hard Labour.

I know that the Conduct of those who *sneak'd* and *abandon'd* their Principles upon the late Change of Ministry, is sometimes made use of as an Argument why all Opposition must be *fruitless*, since all Mankind, say they, employ it only as the *Means of their Preferment*, or the *Instrument of their Revenge*.

venge. This Argument is in point of *Fact* absolutely *false*, and in point of *Reasoning* extremely *inconclusive*. To prove it *false* in *Fact*, I need but appeal to an understanding Reader's own Memory; let him recollect the Characters of those who betray'd their Party upon the late Change, the Light in which they stood with the Public, and the Estimation they held with their own Friends. Whoever shall take the Pains to do this will own, that the Part they acted could be no Surprize upon the discerning Part of Mankind. In all Parties and Bodies of Men (even less numerous than those who formed the late Opposition) there have always been found, and it has been always understood there are Men whose Vertue is too weak to stand the first Shock either of *Temptation* or *Danger*: When such Men give way they leave a Party stronger, because its *Rottenness* is remov'd.

They who fell off upon the late turn, are of two Sorts, such as were never suspected of having *Virtue* to resist *Temptation*, and such as were never thought of *Consequence* enough to *deserve* it. The Surprize, therefore, is *not* that some *fell*, but that so many *stood*. But then how melancholy is the Consideration, when we reflect that there is a Possibility that the great Concerns of the Nation both at home and abroad, may, by such an Alteration of Affairs, fall into the hands of those who were either the *Reproach* or *Scum* of their Party. What a Prospect must this Nation have, if in the most decisive Conjunction, as to the Liberties of *Europe*, the Management of foreign Concerns should fall into the Hands of a Person of the following Character,

A Man, who, when in the Opposition, even his *Sincerity* could never beget *Confidence*, nor his *Abilities Esteem*; whose Learning is unrewarded with
Know-

Knowledge, and his *Experience* with *Wisdom* ; discovering a *Haughtiness* of *Demeanour*, without any *Dignity* of *Character* ; and possessing the Lust of *Ambition* and *Avarice*, without knowing the right use of *Power* and *Riches*. His *Understanding* blinded by his *Passions*, his *Passions* directed by his *Prejudices*, and his *Prejudices* ever hurrying into *Presumption* ; impatient even of an *Equal*, yet ever requiring the *Correction* of a *Superior*. Right as to *general Maxims*, but wrong in the *Application* ; and therefore always so intoxicated by the Prospect of Success, that he never is cool enough to concert the proper Measures to attain it.

Should a Man, I say, of such a Character as this, ever come to be at the Head of Foreign Affairs, the Nation must be in greater Danger than it was in any Time of the late Administration, because her Ruin will be more swift, disgraceful, and irretrievable. One might easily form a Contrast to this Character, and yet not deviate from a living Resemblance. I could paint out a Person without any other Merit but the lowest Species of Prostitution ; enjoys a considerable Post, got by betraying *his own Party*, without having Abilities to be of Use to any *other* : One who had that *plodding Mechanical Turn*, which, with an Opinion of his Steadiness, was of Service to the *Opposition*, but can be of none to a *M——ry* : One whose Talents were so low that nothing but *servile Application* could preserve him from universal *Contempt*, and who, if he had persever'd all his Life in the *Interests of his Country*, might have had a Chance of being remember'd hereafter as a *useful Man*. If there are such Characters as those now existing, it is at least some Consolation to Men of Sense and Virtue, that if their Inclinations lead them to Views destructive of the Interests and Constitution of *Great Britain*,

Britain, yet their Abilities and Reputation with all Mankind are too mean for them to continue so long in Power as to be able to copy the late M---r in procuring a safe Retreat for his Crimes.

Having said thus much, I declare that this Paper shall cease, as soon as the Motives on which it is undertaken have ceas'd; but till then it shall be carry'd on with all the Spirit which is consistent with Decency, Law, and the Principles of this Constitution. While the Writers in it keep to those they are determin'd to fear no Consequences; because nothing can arise so melancholy to their own private Interests, as an Attempt to crush the Liberty of Writing must be to those of the Public.

JEFFREY BROADBOTTOM.



SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 12, 1743. [No. 2.]

To JEFFREY BROADBOTTOM, Esq;

— *If the Power be in one, or a few Men, one or a few Men, we know, may be THIEVES; and the rather, because applying Money that is Publick, without a Consideration that is Publick, to Uses that are Private, is Thieving. But such Thieves will not be hang'd.*

Harrington. Fol. Edit. P. 252.

S I R,



T was a shrewd Saying of the Wife of Jack Catch (the first of that Name) that any Bungler might put a Man to Death, but that her Husband only knew how to make a Gentleman die sweetly. Captain Mackheath, Captain Gibbet, and several of that illustrious Society

Society of petty Robbers are introduc'd as piquing themselves upon their Address in their Function; and to be sure when a Man is robb'd, he parts with his Money with less Concern if the Fellow who robs him does his Business *genteely*. The *National Mackbeaths* and *Gibbets* in this Country seem'd formerly to have apply'd with great Assiduity to this Art, but I am sorry to observe that it appears at present to be quite extinct; for the Plunderers of the Publick now do their Business in so very awkward and so rude a Manner that People are doubly incens'd, first, at their being robb'd, and secondly at its being done by such a parcel of *Fools* as well as *Knaves*.

The Atch *Mackbeath*, who so very lately escap'd, was a great Proficient in the genteel Way of doing his Business; he never committed an Exploit in the way of his Profession, that he did not give a great many Reasons for doing it, and made a great many Apologies for the *Necessities which drove him to follow that way of Life*: But those who have succeeded him in robbing the Publick have no other Language, when one puts in a Word, than *D——n your B——d, we will have your Money; what signifies talking?* This to be sure is such a strain of Arrogance, that, I dare say, if any of those Fellows are caught they will certainly *Swing*.

As the *Great* are sometimes apt to be infected by their *Inferiors*, I think it my Duty, as a public Writer, to expose the Deformity of *Insolence in Office*, which is inseparably connected with *Impotence of Capacity*. This is intended not only to caution the *Great* against such an Exercise of Power, but to animate others against the most provoking Affront that can be offered to the Sense or the Characters of Mankind in a free Country. I say in a *free Country*, because under an arbitrary Govern-

ment, many Measures may require such Secrecy on Account of their being *unjust* and *cruel*, that to give a Reason for carrying them into Practice, might disappoint the Execution of them. But the Character of this Government is, that the People, by their Representatives, are to be the Judges of all Measures, for the Support of which they give their Money, and there can be no other Excuse for keeping secret any thing of that Kind, but that such a Measure is either *unjust*, *weak*, and *scandalous* in itself, or absolutely *destructive* of the People's Interests, or perhaps unites all those Characters in one. As this is an infallible Truth, grounded upon the first Principles of this Constitution, and inseparable from those of Liberty, it is with the greatest Astonishment a Man reflects upon the Indifference, nay Contempt, with which the Reasons against some late Steps have been treated. There might be indeed some Excuse for such a Behaviour had the Opposition to them made but a slight Impression upon the Public, or if they had been slight in themselves; but as the Name of every single Man who approv'd of these Measures is now known, and known not to amount to one Man in a hundred thousand of his Majesty's British Subjects; If ever the Numbers of those who opposed any Measure without Doors, were formidable to a M——y; if ever the Sense of the People ought to have any Weight on the Resolution of the Government, they all concurr'd in the strongest Manner upon the late Occasion. On the other hand, the Reasons on which this universal and general Dislike is founded are such as no M——r hath yet attempted to answer. This must proceed from their being either unable or unwilling to do it. If from the former, 'tis plain they have done, and are now doing what they cannot justify;

ify ; if from the latter, they ought to be treated as *Mutes* at the Bar of their Country. Every little Criminal at the *Old Bailey* who is charg'd by a single Prosecutor with pilfering a Two-penny Matter is oblig'd to plead ; or, if he stands in *Contempt*, is press'd to Death : And shall they who are accused by the Voice of the *whole* People with *plundering* their *Property* ; with *betraying* their *Interest*, and *sacrificing* their *Honour*, all for the Sake of a *dirty, scandalous, foreign Concern*, express and avow such a Contempt to so weighty a Charge, as to say, *we have done all this, we will do all this again ; and we have done it——because——we have done it ?*

This P——ry *Drawcancerism* is but very young amongst us, but has thriven excessively in the few Months Time since which it was planted. We have seen it adopted by all the Upstarts in the M——y, and it seems to be particularly cherished by the *Sempronius* of Patriotism. This R——t H——ble Gentleman who was so extremely serviceable to one Party, before he got all he aspir'd to from another, seems sensible of the Danger of attending to any Reasoning, and of attempting to answer what is indeed *unanswerable* ; He knows the Effects which writing and speaking upon the right Side had while himself was at the Head of the Opposition in one House, and thinks it extremely unjust for any Man, or Body of Men, but himself and his Friends should enjoy the Benefit either of speaking or writing upon public Affairs. He hath declar'd, without giving any single Reason for doing it, that he thinks all that has been written against the H——n Troops is false and scurrilous, and that the public Odium arising from this Measure is owing entirely to the Writings against it. I shall not, Sir, repeat any thing that has been already urg'd in a certain Place where this Declaration was

made, but will take the Liberty of a few Expos-
tulations, which shall be very plain, and such as
may suggest to any Man in the Kingdom who knows
as much as I do of your Conduct both when in
and out of Power.

Are you, Sir, the first Person to complain of the
Liberty of the Press: You who was known to be
the first Man in *England* who imported *Licentious-*
ness into public Writing: You, who introduc'd
Personal Abuse: You who adopted *private Conver-*
sation, to be Laws and Rules in *Political Disputa-*
tion! Did you not, Sir, even get the better of that
sordid Avarice, which so universally characterises
you, and subscribe 100 Guineas to defend a Paper,
which the Government, who were not then pursu-
ing Schemes nor Measures near so disgraceful or de-
structive as those in which you are now joining,
thought to be *libellous*? Did you not upon a defi-
ciency advance 100 more? Did not you saddle
your Estate with a Rent Charge (to be paid indeed
after your Death) of 200 l. to an Author, whose
Character, as such, was more eminent for his *Ta-*
lents of Abuse, than for his *Abilities in Reasoning*?
Will you pretend that any Abuse has been thrown
out upon the present Administration, equal to that
of the most decent and gentlest Paper or Pam-
phlet wrote either by *yourself* or by your *Command*
against the late M——y? Was you, Sir, while
in the Opposition, supported by such Numbers
of all Degrees and Ranks in the Nation as the pre-
sent Opposition is supported by, to justify the Free-
dom of Writing? Let me ask you, was you sup-
ported by so justifiable Reasons and Causes for Op-
position? While in that Opposition, you thought
you had stretch'd the *Distinction* of Parties as far
as they could go, when you establish'd that betwixt
the Court and Country; but now that you are in
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the C——t you find you were mistaken; that Court and Country were the Court and Country of *Great Britain*; but you and your Friends have now open'd a wider Distinction of Parties; that betwixt *Great Britain* and H——r. This is a Distinction, Sir, which no *Art* can *reconcile*, no *Power* can *cement*, and no *Time* can *abolish*; for it must subsist while Seas and Lands interpose betwixt the two Countries; and it is a Distinction which every Subject of *England* who is not blinded by the immediate Possession of Power, must tremble to think of. The Distinction betwixt the Court and Country of *Great Britain*, does not subsist in the *Nature* of *Things* but in the *Mismanagement* of *Persons*, and therefore may be done away by a *virtuous Ministry*, or an *incorrupt People*; but the Distinction you have labour'd to establish, places the Subject upon so dreadful a Precipice, that the very Prospect creates a kind of giddy Horror in the Brain; for it gives him no Choice betwixt *National Independance* and *immediate Poverty*, betwixt *Constitutional Allegiance* and *Eventual Slavery*.

You disclaim P——ts, and you say you are no M——r, and therefore can be byas'd by no partial Views. The stale Cant of every shuffling Prostitute of Power, who immediately after his being debauch'd has some hankering after his departed Reputation, and still feels some of the Stings which the Separation betwixt Virtue and his Conscience has left in his Breast. Have you not, Sir, a T—— to gratify your Vanity; and have you not a —— to satisfy your Avarice, by Preying on the Creatures rais'd by your Prostitution and Compliance? But supposing you had none of these; give me Leave to appeal to the Public, whether it would be a good Plea for a Fellow indicted at the

Old

Old Bailey to say, that he went upon the Highway only for his Diversion?

You promise that you will have no P——t----- But are your Promises to be believ'd? *You*, who after having by your Promises to pursue to Destruction a Head devoted to National Justice, first betray'd the Friends, who believ'd you, into a wrong Measure; then relented in the *virtuous* Pursuit; and lastly screen'd, protected and pleaded for the *guilty Object of Vengeance*. Can this be call'd *Weakness* or *Wickedness*: Was it *Compassion* or *Confederacy*?

That I may now take away all manner of Objection to the Manner in which this Free Conference I have address'd to you has been carry'd on, I must take Notice of a Reason given for the vast and ridiculous Expences we are at upon the Continent; and that is, *that there were found 25 or 26 Men in the Kingdom whose unanimous Opinion it was that it was a right Measure*. There is somewhat so excessively foolish in this Argument that it is a strong Intimation to the Public, that *Wickedness* and *Weakness* are always link'd together. It is even below an Answer; but the Public cannot be better convinc'd of this than by imagining with one's self in what Manner you *yourself*, Sir, would have behav'd if one of the late M——ry, in an important Debate upon a Measure which you oppos'd, had stood up and told the Members that the Measures must certainly be right because a certain C——l was for it. I think I see you, Sir, how you roar, and thunder, and

Mouths at W——le till you shake the Senate.

But for God's sake, Sir, consider what the Resolution of that C—— had to do on that Occasion; don't you remember a certain Measure which was carry'd by a Majority in P——t, and yet you
and

and your Friends thought that Majority so far from giving a Sanction to it, that you deserted your Duty in P——t, and thought it scandalous to be seen there till Measures were alter'd.

I know all the Freedom I have taken here will be term'd Abuse, but it is none; first, because there is not a Syllable of what is advanced that is not grounded upon, or imply'd clearly by your own Conduct; secondly, because there is scarcely a Man in the Kingdom who does not say as much as what is said here.—— You yourself shall, if you please, make the Experiment.—— Send but your own Porter out to the Street, and let him ask of the first dozen of Men he meets with, who is deservedly the most hated Man in the Kingdom, and I will submit to be as obnoxious to the Reproaches of all Mankind as you are now, if 11 out of the 12 does not answer, without Hesitation, The ——; and lastly, Sir, it is not Abuse because it comes from one, who by the Manner in which you have treated him, you have justified in all the Liberty he has now taken, or may hereafter take with your Person and Character.

*I am Mr. BROADBOTTOM'S
most obsequious Servant,
MARCUS BRUTUS.*



SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 19, 1743. [No. 3.]



SCARCE know a more *delicate* and *difficult* Situation than that of an Author at his first Appearance in *Public*. He presents himself without *Introducer* or *Credentials*. He is his own Embassador, sent by

by *himself* to speak of *himself* and for *himself*; in which Case it is almost impossible for him not to say either two *little* or two *much*. But the Difficulties of a *Weekly* Author, or an Author by Retail, are still greater, as they are *perpetual*, for even should he get thro' his *first Audience* with Success, and be graciously received, the least slip in his subsequent Conduct, undoes the whole, and he is disgraced. He is *bound over* as it were from Week to Week; to his good Behaviour, and a hundred thousand *Judges*, not all of them learn'd or impartial as the Twelve, are to determine whether he has forfeited his *Recognizances* or not.

Aware of these Dangers, I should not have encountered them, had not a full Conviction of my own *Superior Merit* assured me that I was safe from 'em all. Arm'd with *Wit*, *Judgment*, *Erudition*, and every other eminent Qualification, I rush into the World, *secure* like one of *Homer's* Heroes in Armour given him by all the Gods. I would not have said thus much of my self, (for I thank God I am as free from Vanity as ever any Author was, and what I have said every Author thinks) but that, as yet, I have no body else *to say it for me*, and it was absolutely necessary that the *Public* should *not be ignorant of so important a Truth*. The first Impression is often *decisive*, and the generality of Mankind chuse to take an Opinion ready made, even from the Party interested, rather than be at the trouble of forming one of their own. In a very little time the unanimous Voice of my Readers will, I dare say, render any farther Intimations of this Kind unnecessary.

As I foresee that this Paper will occasion many Questions, I shall here give the *Answers beforehand* to such of 'em as occur to me, that the Curious may know what they have to expect for the future.

“ What

“ What is this new Paper, this Constitutional Journal ? ” say some solid Politician, whose unerring Judgment has never suffer’d him to stray out of the *beaten Road of Facts and Dates*. “ Has it *Matter* and sound *Reasoning* ? Or is it only a Paper of *Wit* and *Fancy* for the Amusement of the Frivolous ? Is it *Whig* or *Tory*, for, or *against* the Court ? I’ll know a little more of it before I take it in.” To this I answer and engage, that it shall have the most *material* of *Matter*, and the most *reasonable* of *Reasoning*. As to *Whig* and *Tory* I know no real Distinction between ’em ; I look upon them as *two Brothers*, who, *in Truth*, mean the *same Thing*, tho’ they pursue it *differently* ; and therefore, as *Martia* did in the like Case, I declare myself for *neither*, yet for *both*. As to *for*, or *against* the Court, I only answer it shall be CONSTITUTIONAL, and directed, with regard to the Court, as *Trajan* desired his Sword might be, for *him*, or against *him*, as he *deserved* it.

“ Here’s a new Paper come out, I am told,” says some vigorous Minister ; “ ’tis Treason to be sure, but is it Treason within or without the Law ? Can I get at it ? I don’t like the Title on it, especially at this Time.” With humble Submission I beg Leave to assure his L——p that I shall not write *Treason*, because I never *think* Treason. This Royal Family has not a more faithful and loyal Subject in the Kingdom than myself ; and if I may borrow an Expression I have long admired, *It is under this Royal Family alone that I think we can live free*, and that I hope, *we are determined to live free*. His L——p shall most certainly never get at me, till it is Criminal to be an *Englishman* ; should that ever happen, indeed, he may possibly have the Satisfaction of condemning me to a Wheel-Barrow in the Mines of the *Hartz*.*

D

“ This

* Mines belonging to certain German Dominions.

“ This *Jeffrey Broadbottom*, this Constitutional Journal is certainly levell’d at us,” says a conscious fallen Apostate Patriot to his fallen Brethren in the Pandæmonium. “ ’Tis ten to one, but its written by some of our old Friends, and then we shall have all our former *Speeches*, *Pamphlets*, and *Declarations* turn’d upon us, and our *past Conduct* set over-against *our present*: I wish we could buy it off; as soon as ever I can find out the Author *I will*, for I have some Reason to be pretty sure, that there is no Man who is not to be bought;” and then

Grinn’d horribly a Ghastly Smile.

Pray why do you think my Paper is levell’d at you? Has your expiring Conscience in its last Words told you so? And has the same Authority inform’d you that I am to be bought? You are mistaken in both. You may happen indeed sometimes to *hitch* in a Paper, but you must be much more *considerable* than you are before you become the principal Object of one; and you must stay till you are trusted with the *Disposal of Money*, and till *I love it* as well as you do (two Things which will never happen) e’re you will be able to buy me.

“ What is this new Paper, this Broadbottom Journal, I think they call it,” says a fine Woman in the genteel Languor of her Morning Conversation, with some fine Gentleman of distinguished *Taste* and *Politeness*: “ Is it like the *Tatlers* and *Spectators*, has it Wit or Humour? Or is it only upon those odious Politicks that one hears of all Day long? In short will it do with one’s Tea in a Morning?”

“ Not with your Tea, replies the fine Gentleman, but incomparably well with your *Ale* if you ever take any; not that I have read it yet, but to say the Truth, the Title does not promise well, *Jeffrey Broadbottom* and *John Trott* seem to be *Symp-*

tonimous

tonimous Terms. I dare say there's nothing of what the *French* call *Enjouement* in it; and I take it to be a kind of heavy hot Loaf to stay the Stomachs of hungry Politicians in a Morning." Have a little Patience with me ye illustrious Rulers of the *Beau Monde*, ye tremendous Judges, whose Decisions are the final Decrees of Fashion and Taste, I know your Importance too well, not to engage your Favour if possible; tho' I shall be often, what you are never, *serious*; I shall be sometimes, what you are always, *trifling*: My *lazy* and my *idle* Hours shall be sacred to the Amusement of yours: Lighter *Subjects* shall sometimes engage your Attention and unbend mine; and the Events of the *polite* World shall fill up the Intervals of the *busy* One.

The universal Question will be, who is the Author, or supposed Author of this Paper? To which if I don't give an Answer at present, I must beg Leave to be excused; being determined, at present, to shine like *Phosphorus* in the dark, and scatter my Light from the impenetrable Recess of mine own Closet. I will, for a Time at least, enjoy the sensible Pleasure of *unsought* and *unsuspected* Praise, and of hearing, wherever I go, my Labours applauded, and severally ascribed to the most eminent Wits and Politicians of the Age; as they certainly will be, till I think proper to declare myself, and vindicate the Glory due to me alone.

Having thus given not only an Account, but some *Samples* of what the Public may expect from me hereafter; I shall conclude this Paper with a *friendly* and *disinterested* Piece of Advice, to such of my Fellow Subjects as are desirous of *Information*, *Instruction*, or *Entertainment*. Secure my Paper in time, for the Demand will soon be too great to be complied with; and those who take it in *first*,

shall, as in Justice they ought, have the Preference *afterwards*. Mr. *Purser*, my Printer, assures me, it is impossible to print off above One Hundred and Ninety Three Thousand of these Papers in a Week; a very small Proportion to the Number of those who will be sollicitous to read them: For reckoning the People of this Kingdom at eight Millions, and deducting half that Number for young Children, blind People, and Men of Quality, who either can't, or don't chuse to read, there will remain four Millions of Reading Souls; of whom three Millions, eight Hundred, and seven Thousand cannot have the Satisfaction of reading this Paper *at the first Hand*, but must wait, with Impatience, for future Editions. I do not say this from any fordid View of Interest, *which I am infinitely above*, for I MOST SOLEMNLY PROTEST THAT I DESIRE NOTHING FOR MYSELF: And that the immense Profits of this Paper shall be all distributed among my Friends, the *Printer*, the *Publisher*, *Compositor*, *Pressmen*, *Flys*, and *Devils*, without *quartering* myself upon any one of them, or requiring any Thing from them contrary to their former *Conduct*, *Honour*, or *Conscience*.

JEFFREY BROADBOTTOM.



SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 26, 1743. No. 4.



Intend in this Paper to have a little *modest Confabulation* with my *gentle Reader* upon a Thing much *talk'd* of, often *practis'd*, and but very little *understood*: I mean *Personal Abuse*.

Every

Every Gentleman who frequents Places of Public Resort, is very sensible how much they are infested by the *Vermin of Power*, who are still crawling about, biting, stinking, stinging, and sliming all they come near. They are all of the same Nature, but differing in their Species; and one Mark by which they are to be certainly distinguish'd, is, their eternally squeaking out against the *Personal Abuse* offer'd to great Men. This is the constant Theme of every *Locust* of the REVENUE, every *Bug* of the CHURCH, every *Wasp* of the LAW, every *Butterfly* of the ARMY; and the never failing *Criterion* of consummate RASCALITY. By this Declaration I am so far from defending or justifying Personal Abuse, that I think it the most scandalous and wicked Thing any Writer can be guilty of: But then in Proportion to the Heinousness of the Offence itself, the Guilt of those who charge this Offence upon the Innocent is aggravated. It is therefore of the utmost Consequence to the Public that it be justly and honestly informed of the true Nature of this, which is one of the meanest and worst of all Vices.

Every Man who is capable of observing the best Performances in the *fine Arts* with the Eye of *Genius*, will be immediately sensible that no Poet has ever yet succeeded in drawing, in praising, or in lashing the Manners of Mankind, without having some living Original in his Eye from whence he copies that part of his Character which makes the most striking and the deepest Impression upon the Reader. The same Observation will hold good in Painting, where the fine Airs which distinguishes the Heads of the best Painters, are copied from Nature; and a favourite Similarity of Features runs thro' the same Characters in the Works of all great Masters. But both these Professions may abuse their

their Art : The Poet may *exalt* a *Knave*, or *ridicule* a *Patriot* ; and a masterly Painter can *disguise Beauty*, or *correct Deformity*. In both these Cases the Judgment that is form'd of the Artist is determin'd by the general Opinion which the Public has of the Original of their Performances ; and they are, according to that, pronounced guilty of *mean Flattery*, or prais'd for doing *noble Justice* ; they are deem'd the Rewarders of *true Glory*, or the Promoters of *Personal Abuse*. But that *Abuse* never can be *Personal* unless the Public first agrees upon the Application of it to a particular Person, and next, that the Application is *unjust* ; for if the Application is *just* the Satyr is *just* likewise. Thus, if a Painter were to mark the Figure of Mammon in the *Pandæmonium* of fallen Angels, by clapping to it the Legs of *Sempronius*, he would be thought an incorrigible Dunce in his own Profession, were *Sempronius* a Man of Virtue, and not an eminent Scoundrel upon whom all the World agrees that the Character of Mammon, viz. *Avarice* and *Ambition*, is *justly* fix'd. When this is the Case the Abuse cannot be *Personal* ; for if there is one such as I have describ'd and if every Man who looks on the Piece shall immediately cry out *that must be Mammon* because he has got the Legs of *Sempronius*, then the Painter is in the Right ; for by painting the Character of Mammon under such a Figure, he does no more than give it its proper Attributes, and the *universal Application* of it vindicates the Justness of the Satyr. The very same Objection holds good with regard to Poetry. But let us now enquire how the Case stands as to Political Writings and Writers, and shew how widely it differs from either Painting or Poetry.

In the first Place, I lay it down as an incontestible Maxim, that no Person who has any Influence

in those Councils which are to determine the Happiness or Misery of a free People, can have any Vice which influences his public Conduct, in which every Individual of that People is not concern'd; because the Public *may* suffer by such a Vice, and if the Public suffers every Individual *must*. The *public* Character of such a Person renders his Vices *public* too; and those Failings which were before felt by his Family, lamented by his Relations, or laugh'd at by the World, may, in the Cabinet of his Prince, entail Misery upon Millions, and lay a Foundation for Ruin which no after Courage or Wisdom can retrieve.

To confirm this Observation by an Instance; I will figure to my Reader a young Man with warm Notions, and tolerable Learning, which leads him to enquire a little into antient History: I will suppose what is known to be the Case every Day, *that after seeing a little, he presumes a great deal and then jumps into the Conclusion.* While such a one is within the Gates of an University, or confines his Notions to the Walls of his own Closet, however wrong they may be, yet they are attended with no ill Consequence to the *Public*; and therefore should a political Writer abuse him on that Account, the Abuse would be Personal: He may admire *Demosthenes* for spiriting *Athens* up to a mad hair-brain'd War with *Philip*, he may blame *Phocion*, who hated *Philip* more than *Demosthenes* did, but foresaw that that War would ruin the *Athenians* without affecting *Philip*, and thought he cou'd be more effectually humbled by lying by till a strong and universal Confederacy of *Greece* cou'd be form'd: He may negotiate for the *Romans*; he may fight for the *Carthaginians*, and scheme for the *Edwards* and *Henrys* of his own Country, without either Party being better or worse: But while he brings that romantic

mantic Spirit into Counfels where it may prevail to the Ruin of the Nation ; when he applies thofe speculative Maxims, without Regard to Circumftances ; when he carries his impracticable Projects *into Execution* without the *Proſpect of Succeſs* ; when he ſets the Interests of his Country upon a desperate Caſt without the poſſibility of a Reſourſe ; when thoſe Qualities which were before only *ridiculous Defects in his Underſtanding*, become *the deſtructive Inſtruments of his Ambition* : When all his *fooliſh Conceits* are realiz'd into *fatal Meaſures* ; can a Writer who attacks ſuch a Miniſter be ſaid to diſcover *Perſonal Abufe*, or *virtuous Reſentment*, ſince he does no more than reſent the Miſeries which he himſelf and Millions feel ?

From this ſhort Character, which, as *Cicero* ſays of that of *Cataline*, is not *Exprefſa ſed adumbrata*, not *painted but ſketch'd*, it is plain that the Perſonal Character of every Miniſter is inſeperably connected with his Public. The Want of Public Virtue can ariſe only from the Redundancy of private Demerit : And therefore to pretend to the Liberty of the Preſs, and yet be ty'd up from expoſing the Perſonal Defects of Miniſters, is a Contradiſtion in Terms.

While *Balbutius* was indulging the Rage of Planting and Building, and continued firm to that Party which eſpouſed him, and to thoſe Friends with whom he had Voted ever ſince he had a Vote in the Place where he now ſits ; while he remain'd Independent upon the Favour of Courts, and appear'd above the Temptation of a Place, had a Political Writer abus'd *Balbutius* for indulging his Taſte, tho' at the Expence of his Fortune, he would have been guilty of Perſonal Abufe, becauſe the Failings of *Balbutius* were attended with no bad Conſequences to the Public : But when his Extravagance drives him

him into Measures which absolutely contradicts and confounds all he had been labouring for all his Life; when it makes him vote away the Liberty of his Country, and sell himself and his Posterity to a Court, then the Public has Reason to curse that Extravagance, because it is partly owing to it, that the Nation is burden'd with heavy Taxes, and aw'd with F——n Troops; and there is not a Man in the Kingdom whom *Balbutius's* Extravagance does not help to strip of a fourth part of his Fortune or his Labour.

I can compare *Sambo* to nothing so properly as a Mole; while in the Opposition he was always *digging* and *digging*, he neither knew why nor where, but still he was *digging* to undermine a very Pestilent Minister, and he threw up a good deal of Dirt which help'd to raise that Battery from which he was beat out of his Power. While *Sambo* was employ'd in this it would have been Insolence and Abuse to have expos'd his Blindness; but now that he has got above Ground, his Blindness is no longer either ridiculous or useful as before, for it leads him into Blunders, and obliges him to follow Guides which will, e'er long, bring his Country to Ruin.

But, says some Creature of Power, why don't you blame their Measures and spare their Persons? To this I answer, as I have done already. *First*, That this is a Contradiction in Terms; *Secondly*, That no Personal Vice or Failing ought to be touch'd upon that has not an immediate Tendency to the Prejudice of the Public; and *Lastly*, that the Nature of all free Constitutions points out to the People, that all subordinate Governors are in their own *Persons* liable to the Justice of their Country. As to the two first Reasons I think I have already sufficiently clear'd them up; but will beg Leave to be a little

more explicit in my third Proposition. In arbitrary Governments, where it is equally blameable to find fault with *Things* as with *Persons*, this Doctrine might be very expedient; but the Genius of this Constitution has laid it down as a Maxim that the Persons of Ministers are to suffer for the Conduct of their Administration. The People of *England* have, at all Times, look'd upon every Act of Government, as proceeding from the Advice of those Ministers who have greatest Sway in the Counsels of their Master, and tho' every Man of his Council were For a Measure, yet the People may make the Minister accountable for it.

To prove this we need but recollect what was stipulated on the Part of the People by the Act of Settlement, viz. *That all Privy Counsellors should be oblig'd to sign their Advice*; this plainly imply'd that the People cou'd look upon themselves as being entitled to no Indemnification for any wrong Measures but from the Personal Punishment of Ministers; and therefore common Sense dictates to the People of *England*, that the Personal Conduct of Ministers, so far as their Vices may affect them, is to be strictly enquir'd into, and expos'd both to public Detestation and public Ridicule. It may be in the Power of a *vicious* Set of Men to ruin their Country, and then how poor a Satisfaction is she entitled to in the Personal Punishment of such Men.

Upon the Whole, it is the Duty of every Political Writer, to expose to the People all those Failings and Vices in Ministers, or those who would be Ministers, which may have a fatal Effect upon their Interests, that they may be both on their Guard against their getting into Power, and more united in their Endeavours to pull them down if they have already got into it.

JEFFREY BROADBOTTOM.

Tom

SATURDAY, MARCH 5, 1743. [No. 5.]



OM Shadwell, the Predecessor of our present illustrious Laureat, whose Wit is too refin'd to be discover'd, and too capacious to be comprehended, at the beginning of all his Plays used to clap into his *Dramatis Personæ*, a short Account of the Characters and Manners of the Persons represented in his Play. This was a very prudent Precaution lest his Readers should have been puzzled to find them out in the Play itself. In Imitation of this great Example I have entertained the Public with a few Characters of the principal Performers in the Political Dramas that has been opened since the late Change of Ministry. I have had the Satisfaction of observing that however bad the Colouring may be, yet the Out-lines and the Features are so just that there is not a single Person who has mistaken the Originals. The View which I have exhibited, if compared with the Histories of all Ministries for these 100 Years past, will give but too melancholy a Proof to the Public that if Old *England* still deserves to retain the antient Emblem of a Lyon, it is of the Old Lyon in the Fable, who after being wounded by the Boar, gor'd by the Bull, and spurn'd by the Horse, is now kick'd by the Hoof of the Ass. I shall enter only into a very slight Review of the general Characters of our Administrations within that Period to prove this.

The timorous cowardly Politics of the Reign of *James* the First receive some Mitigation of the Censure they deserve by the Care then taken of

the Commerce of *England*, and the Establishment of several very useful Public Bodies. Notwithstanding the arbitrary Principles of the Bigots about *Charles* the First, which brought that Prince to the Block, yet there was a great deal of private Virtue about the Court, and a Spirit in the Council, which had it been as well seconded by Parliament as some Courts have been since that Time, would have struck Terror into *France*, and in the then Juncture of Affairs might have given Law on the Continent. *Cromwell* abroad render'd that People Heroes, whom at home he made Slaves. The degenerate Court of the second *Charles* while it is branded not for want of Abilities but of Honesty, is distinguished by several masterly Strokes in Politics, in Arms, and in Commerce. The Ministers of King *James* were far from being either Weak or Wicked, as appear'd from their following the true Interests of their Country, as soon as they had an Opportunity. Those of King *William*, tho' they had great Failings, yet acted like Englishmen and Men of Courage against *France*, and not like bouncing bellowing Bullies. All the Party Spirit under Queen *Anne* could not extinguish that Zeal for the Honour of *Old England* which then animated the Nation and Parliament, and in which both Whigs and Tories sought to distinguish themselves, tho' in different Manners. One part of his late Majesty's Reign will be transmitted with great Advantages, down to Posterity, for the Jealousy his Ministers shew'd for the Honour and Interest of *Old England*. Even the late detestable Administration may, with Justice, plead the Merit of Gratitude to their Friends who brought them into Power; that they never hazarded a Blow which struck directly at the Foundation of the Interest and Independency of the very Name of *Great Britain*.

tain; that they never stretch'd the Distinction of Parties beyond that of *Court* and *Country*; and that by observing those Rules, *Public Discontent* was still kept within the bounds of *Dissatisfaction* with the *Measures* of the *Minister*, without venturing upon any Step that might have occasion'd *Disaffection* to the *Person* of his M——r. But for the present M——ry what Merit can be pleaded; what Praise can even ingenious Adulation bestow upon it? Will they produce the shameful Compromise made to screen the Object of National Resentment, after they had for twenty Years, daily and hourly ly'd themselves into the Favour of the People? Can they instance one *Salutary* Law they have procur'd, one *beneficial* Step they have taken, one *bold* Stroke they have struck, one *glaring* Crime they have punish'd, one *grateful* Action they have perform'd; or, in short, one *wise Thing* they have done? Are they not at present contemptible to a Proverb, hated to Detestation, and weak even to a degree of Compassion? Were any of their Friends, if we can suppose them to have a Friend, to ask a Proof of all this, one need but refer him to the general Voice of Mankind, which, if I mistake not, is agreed upon by all Critics to be one Criterion of Certainty: But if he should require more particular Proofs, let him but cast his Eyes upon the present State of Affairs abroad and at home.

In the time of the late Ministry it was thought, and justly too, that the Affairs of the Nation were in a very bad Situation, when we had not *one Ally to our Back*; and our present most upright Ministers plum'd themselves in their arch Observations on that Head; they talk'd the very Sun down with this Topic, and bewail'd our lamentable Condition till even *Butchers wept*. Lamentable indeed it

it was, but still not *desperate*; the Merit of improving into that Condition was reserv'd for their own ingenious Heads; and had their Lives, their Fortunes, and those of all their Posterity depended upon it, they could not have fallen upon any Methods more proper than those they have pursued, perhaps, for the quick finishing of that Ruin which their Predecessors had begun. These last kept us without any Ally, but their Successors, to prevent this Reproach, have given us an Ally in his C——n Majesty, but have not only broken us with our other Allies, but rendered them our *implacable irreconcilable* Enemies: Not contented with this they have tack'd to this Nation the Load of a Power, whose desperate Circumstances and ruin'd Fortunes must drag us down to swift and irretrievable Ruin.

But lest it should seem as if this were the Judgment of an Enemy, let me appeal to the Conduct of our Neighbours the *Dutch*, our old and natural Friends. Can any Man of Common Sense imagine that the Friendship of the Parliament of *Great Britain*, supported by the Hearts and Purses of the People, was an Offer to be contemptuously spurn'd away, at a Time when our very Motive of Offering it was to restore and maintain the Liberty and Interest of *Holland* itself from the possible Attacks of an ambitious Neighbour at a favourable Juncture. No, this was what that wise People would, at any other Time (than a Juncture when they knew that the Affairs of this Nation were manag'd by Men who had neither Credit, Honesty, nor Abilities,) have been overjoy'd to have accepted of. I am sensible these Reasons are infinitely stronger now than they were at the Time this Proposition was first wrote to the States General by my L——d S——s, and that their Refusal to join us since was strength-

strengthened by many accidental Causes all owing to the Blunders of our Ad——n : But at the time I have mentioned, and for some time before, it is plain there could not be any Reason assign'd for their declining to act in Conjunction with us but the very great Contempt they had for our M——rs, founded upon the universal Sense of the Nation. For the late M——r was no sooner remov'd, than the very next Post brought us an Account of the vast Alteration of their Affairs, and of their Dispositions to enter into the strictest and most hearty Alliance with us : But, 'tis certain, that no sooner had the Successors of the last M——r discover'd that they would tread in his Footsteps, nay, that they would take wider Strides in their Advances to National Infamy and Ruin, than this Ardor relented ; and was so far from being re-animated, that it was entirely *damp'd*, nay *extinguish'd* by the Journey of our arch *Matchiavel* to persuade that wary People to come into his wild impracticable Schemes. But these Points have been so fully discuss'd in several excellent political Pamphlets, publish'd this Winter, and which, in a great Measure, have anticipated what a Journalist has to say upon this Subject, that I shall drop any farther Review of it.

There is indeed one Subject of political Writing which is too recent for the Public, as yet, to have any Opportunity of being informed of ; I mean the Conduct of a Prince, with whom the Tyes both of Blood and of Interest dictate that we should be closely connected : A Prince who, at present, has it undoubtedly in his Power to give Law in *Germany*, as he has done for some time past, but appears to be so far from relishing or approving of the Projects of our *Matchivelian Don Quixote* in Politics, that, if we are to believe
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some late Accounts, there is no Power in *Europe* from whom we have so much to fear as from him. This is far from being all, for by the wild inconsistent Conduct we have held, those hair-brain'd Politicians seem resolv'd to involve his M——ty's Hereditary Dominions in the common Ruin, which must attend all Attempts of any farther Attacks upon the Peace of *Germany*, if the Forces which that new form'd Alliance can bring into the Field, and which, at the smallest Number, must amount to 200,000 Soldiers, should prove superior to an Army of 49,000 raw and unexperienced Troops in the Heart of an Enemy's Country, without the Possibility of receiving any *additional Force* from *Recruits*, or any *future Subsistence* from *Magazines*.

The advising a Conduct of this Kind is so far from being a grateful Return for the generous Concern which his Majesty has ever personally shewn for the Distresses of the House of *Austria*, that it must touch every *Englishman* with the strongest Indignation, when he reflects that this, perhaps, was the only Measure by which it was possible to have made the E——r of H——r a Sufferer by his being King of B———. It is in the latter Quality alone that his M——y can be interested in the present Dispute between the Queen of *Hungary*, and the Head of the Empire, to whose Election his Suffrage principally contributed ; and it is in this Quality alone that he seems to take any Concern in this Affair ; for the paltry Consideration paid for the Hire of his Troops is but a Straw when compar'd to the mighty Desolation that must attend a Ban of the Empire, supported by the Zeal and the Swords of all the other Princes of the Empire ; perhaps
not

not excepting that of the House of *Austria* itself, who may sacrifice the Interests of the generous Protector to its own Security.

Having thus taken a very slight View of the Management of our Worthy M——rs Abroad, let us just cast our Eyes upon the Situation they have led us into at Home. The Protection of our Trade is as much complain'd of as ever, notwithstanding all the little Mean Arts to squeeze and extort an Acknowledgment of our M——rs Care in that Respect; an Artifice as mean as the daily Puffs of Cures perform'd by Pocky Doctors. There is not a Branch of the Revenue that is not Morgag'd; there is not a Necessary of Life that is not Tax'd; nor is there a Luxury that does not pay to the Government. Nay we have seen that when the Imposts upon Luxury itself were found insufficient for supplying their insatiable Rage of Expence, the very Vices of Mankind (even that fatal Vice, which, without the additional Plague of an enterprizing Ministry, is sufficient to destroy the very Species of *Englishmen*) have receiv'd a *Licence* that they might supply their Cravings. Money is to be rais'd by *Gaming*, and paid by *Drinking*; and Measures have been propos'd and carried, in which they have been deserted even by the all extensive and all screening Charity of the R——t R——d B——h. I shall not take any more of my Reader's Time up at present, but reserve the Remainder of this copious, but melancholy Subject to another Opportunity.

JEFFREY BROADBOTTOM.

SATURDAY, MARCH 12, 1743. No. 6.

To JEFFREY BROADBOTTOM, Esq;

S I R,

 S you have very properly taken Notice that the *complaining against Personal Abuse upon great Men* who have *abus'd* the whole Nation, is the *Characteristic* of a *Scoundrel*; I hope you will indulge me in a few Observations upon another Doctrine, commonly recommended by little dirty Fellows who have neither *Courage* to be *Rogues*, no *Virtue* to be *Honest*; the Doctrine I mean is that of *Political Neutrality*.

A Man who professes himself Neutral with regard to public Affairs in a free Country, and at a critical Juncture, ought to be chain'd up to the Corner of a Kitchen as a Monkey; for there is not so great a Difference betwixt a Monkey and a Man as there is betwixt a Man who values neither his own Liberty nor that of his Posterity, and one who is indifferent about both. *Solon*, who was one of the greatest Politicians, Statesmen and Patriots that ever Antiquity produc'd, propos'd a Law to the *Athenians* which that wise People universally adopted into their Civil Polity, to the following Effect:

“ If thro' Discord any Dissention or Insurrection
 “ rend the People into two Parties, so that with
 “ exasperated Minds they take Arms and fight
 “ against each other; he who at such a Time and
 “ in such a Case, shall not engage himself on one
 “ Side or other, but shall endeavour to retire and se-
 “ parate himself from the Evils fall'n on his Coun-
 “ try,

“ try, let such an one, losing Houses, Country and
 “ Estate, be sent out an * Exile.”

This Law is by *Plutarch* justly commended as being the best Preventive of Faction and Slavery that could possibly have been devised. This Nation is now fairly split into two Parties, and the sole Question betwixt them is, whether the Advantage of *H ——— r* or that of *Great Britain* is to be prefer'd. This is a Question that to a Subject of *Old England* appears in the following Light: It sets the *King* and the *People of England* on one side, and the *M ——— y* on the other. I say, in this Question, *the King and the People of England are of a Side*, for it is but a paultry short-sightedness in Politics which can suppose that the Interests of a *King of OLD ENGLAND* and those of *his People* can ever be separated. The Laws themselves and the Genius of this Constitution have made this so capital a Principle in our Government, that it is not in the Power even of the King himself to be detach'd from the Interests, and from that Party which his People espouses. This is provided against by that excellent fundamental Maxim that *the King can do no Wrong*, which, if it means any Thing, means that the *King of England must be the Father of the People of England*. Upon this Maxim, in all Complaints of the People against Wicked or Corrupt, Cowardly or Enterprizing Ad-

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* *The Words of Aulus Gellius, from whom we have this Law, are Exul extorrisque esto, which was a capital Punishment among the Romans. Cicero speaking therefore of this Law in his Epistles to Atticus, says, that Solon Capite Sanxit. So that the ingenious Author of the universal History, in mentioning this Law in Vol. II. of that Work, is mistaken, when he says, that Cicero by a Slip of his Memory made this Penalty Capital. Montgault has likewise mistaken Cicero's Sense here.*

ministrations, the Profusion of Mal-administration complain'd of, equally affects the Sovereign and the Subject: As a recent Proof of this, the Reader need but look into the Report of the late Secret Committee, where he will see that every Instance of Prodigality or Corruption prov'd there, is at the Expence either of the King's *own Revenue*, or tending to blast the Honour of his Arms.

As this then is the Case, and as the Dispute is whether we shall or shall not be Vassals to a foreign Consideration, will any Wise, will any Virtuous, will any brave Man say that he will not concern himself with either Party? Since all Opposition to a wicked M — — ry is composed only of the collected Body of Individuals, can any Individual answer it to his Conscience, to himself or his Posterity, to set, by *his* Inactivity, an infamous Example which may determine others to do the like, and thereby the Liberties of his Country may be given up without one generous Struggle,

I know it hath been often said, that "When it comes to the push People will *then* exert themselves;" that is, like Lord *Wharton's* Puppies they will open their Eyes just as they are sinking. But the wise and the honest Course is to prevent Things from coming to that desperate Pass. Will any Man of Common Sense, when he might prevent a Fever by a little previous *Blooding* or *Evacuation* delay it, because the Fever may be cur'd when it comes to a Crisis: And nothing is more evident and demonstrable than that unless our Patriots makes a just and vigorous Stand on this Occasion, Affairs must come to a *Crisis*, which *possibly* may be in Favour of the People, but must, even in that Event, be attended with many melancholy Consequences, that may now be prevented.

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At present, the Cure may be perform'd without putting the Nation to the least *Pang* ; but hereafter it may throw her into *Agonies*. Nay, what is very extraordinary, a little Resolution and Unanimity *now* among the People of *Old England*, would prevent even the Symptoms of the Evil she is threatned with from ever recurring. If every Man, who is not tainted with the Infection of Power, would put on a Resolution to act as if all the Interests of his Country depended upon his single Virtue and Activity ; the Effect must be *the cleansing the Auguean Stable*, which can only be done by turning against it the Torrent of National Spirit.

The Public Offices are to the Body Politic what the Stomach is to the Natural Body ; it is there that the Nourishment of the Nation is concocted, and from them it is sent to supply all the different Operations in the Animal System. If this therefore is vitiated or unable to perform its proper Functions, the whole must suffer till a gradual Consumption totally destroys it. I shall give one or two Instances to illustrate this general Proposition.

If ever the Time shall come when the Board of Ad—ty is manag'd by a Man, who in Sea Affairs is as *ignorant* as a *Horse*, as *obstinate* as a *Mule*, as *giddy* as a *Goose*, and as *wicked* as a *Baboon*, then no Care of the S—n, no Spirit in the People can prevent the *Honour* of the one from *suffering*, or the *Interests* of the other from being *sacrific'd*. Even the Wisdom of Parliament itself will be insufficient for providing by the most wholesome Regulations against the Abuses which may be introduc'd by the weak and wicked Execution of their own Resolutions. In such a Case therefore it will be the Duty of every Man to apply all his Efforts
and

and Endeavours to procure a better Administration of this great Branch of National Business, which can only be done by turning out those who had been guilty of the Malversations.

If ever our Military Affairs should be influenc'd by a *Cabinet* General, who has nothing but his Dress to distinguish him from an old Woman, and who is ready to screen every Instance of Corruption and Wickedness, from a wicked Ministry down to a select V—ry, then we never can expect to see the Military Operations of the Government manag'd either with Success or Credit.

If ever our Treasury-board should be under a Necessity of taking Directions from an Officer belonging to another Department of Business, who has approv'd himself to be the Right Hand of Corruption, and becomes an Advocate for squandering the public Treasure in Jobs, then every honest Man must see the Necessity of having that Branch of the Administration put upon a more virtuous Footing, before he can expect that either the Strength or the Treasure of the Nation can be properly apply'd.

In short, no Man can, in such Cases, consistently with his Honour or Conscience pretend to be neuter, without suffering Things to come to a very dangerous pass; and therefore his Duty to the Crown as well as to the People calls upon him to exert himself, all he can, to stop the Evil before it shall arrive to that Height as to require desperate Remedies, and when he must struggle for his last Stake. I shall end this Paper with a Story which I have some where or other read in the English History, which I think fully illustrates the Wisdom of Peoples coming early to this Resolution, and leave the Application of it to my Reader.

King *John* of *England* sent his Orders to a very rich *Jew* that he would furnish him with a thousand Marks. The *Jew* refus'd it; upon which the King sent a Tooth-drawer to him, with Orders that he should pull a Tooth out of the *Jew's* Head every Day, while he continued in his Refusal. The *Jew* suffered one Tooth to be drawn out, and then another, and then another, till in short he had but one Tooth left in his Head, and just as the Tooth-drawer was going to draw that out too — the *Jew* paid the Money.

I am, Sir,

Your very humble Servant,

MARCUS BRUTUS.

O D E. *On the new M—rs.*

WIT'S, point your Arrows keen, and quick,
Sport Odes, Jokes, Ballads, ne'er so thick.

At S——'s solid Head;
With safe, impenetrable Weight,
He stands great Leader of the State,
Arm'd Cap-a-pe in Lead.

Let Facts convince, let Rhet'rick move,
Let P—tt persuade, let W—ll—r prove
Wild Schemes, and *Levy-Stealing*;
Dumb, as their Bench, these Statesmen sit,
Cyphers without Reply, or Wit,
Lost to all Shame, and Feeling:

Not so Lord B—, less wise than they,
He contradicts himself each Day,
Still is a great Debater,
He threatens Vengeance on the Press,
He makes our little Freedom less,
And our great Army greater.

Thou,

Thou, Genius of this Isle! arise,
 See with Disdain, Grief, and Surprise
 Such Knaves, such Ideots join'd,
 Join'd to destroy that happy Frame,
 Which made *Old England's* Strength and Name
 The Terror of Mankind.

A S I M I L E.

To JEFFREY BROADBOTTOM, *Esq;*

DEAR *Jeffrey* didst thou never meet
 A Beggar walking in the Street,
 Who, conscious of his Want of Sight,
 Trusts others to direct him right;
 Out of his Doors he'll never stir
 Without his knowing, faithful Curr,
 Well skill'd each different Way in finding,
 Who knows all Crossings, ev'ry Winding:
 By him thro' all the Town he's led,
 And guided safely home to Bed.

So fares it with our T-----y Board,
 Where, dark and blind, sits ev'ry L-----d,
 From that grave *Thing* who wears a Ribbon
 Quite down to that grave *Nothing*, G-----:
 Exactly fitted to each other,
 Each justly calls his Neighbour Brother;
 Their Tongues can't speak, nor Heads discern,
 Too dull their own dull Forms to learn:
 They therefore wisely have provided
 A Curr, by whom they all are guided,
 No Warrant sign till he inspects it,
 And take no Step till he directs it:
 But, conscious to his Judgment stoop,
 And all their Strings are ty'd to Sc-----.

PROPOSALS for erecting an AMPHITHEATRE for the
MANLY EXERCISE of BOXING,

By JOHN BROUGHTON, Professor of
ATHLETICKS.

*Multa Viri nequicquam inter se vulnera jactant :
Multa cavo lateri ingeminant & pectore vastos
Dant sonitus, erratque aures & tempora circum
Crebra manus ; duro crepitat sub vulnere malæ.*

VIRGIL.

ATHLETICKS have ever been encouraged in those Countries where Strength and Valour have been the Characteristicks of the Inhabitants, at Greece, particularly among the Spartans, the most Heroic of that People ; and at Rome these Exercises were held in such high Estimation, that even Princes and Nobles have not disdain'd to enter the List as Competitors. BRITONS then who boast themselves Inheritors of the Greek and Roman Virtues, should follow their Example, and by encouraging Conflicts of this magnanimous Kind, endeavour to eradicate that foreign Effeminacy which has so fatally insinuated itself among us, and almost destroy'd that glorious Spirit of British Championism, which was wont to be at once the Terror and Disgrace of our Enemies.

While Authority serves to recommend this Practice, Reason likewise convinces us of its Usefulness, for as Exercise is the Nurse of Strength and Activity, and these are the natural Perfections of the Body, what can be more Rational than Encounters which manifestly tend to this End ? Especially when the Promotion of them may conduce to the public Utility as well as private Recreation ; for if

the Prowess of the People is the natural Bulwark of a Country, the Encouragement of this Quality will excite every one to an Emulation and Improvement of it; and as Experience convinces us that Foreigners tremble less at the *Firelock* than the *Fist* of a *Briton*, we may by a laudable Incitement of this Species of natural Fortitude, become as formidable to other Nations, as the Poet describes *Entellus* to have been to his Antagonist, when he says,

*Nunc dextra ingeminans ictus, nunc ille sinistra;
Nec mora, nec requies, quam multa grandine nimbi
Culminibus crepitant: Sic densis ictibus Heros
Creber utraque manu pulsat, versatque Dareta.*

and what Enemy would dare the Vengeance of an Arm that must reduce him to the melancholy Condition of

————— *genua ægra trabentem,
Factantemque utroque caput, crassumque cruorem
Ore ejectionem, mistosque in sanguine dentes.*

The principal Reasons that have occasioned the Decay of *British* Championism, it is apprehended are,

The Want of a convenient and elegant Place for the Exhibition of these Ceremonies.

The present Indiscrimination there between Persons of the first Rank and Condition, and those of the meaner and lowest Class.

The exorbitant Charge of an Amphitheatre.

The great Imposition on the Spectators by those who, merely for *Lucre's* Sake enter the Lists, though entirely unqualified for such arduous Conflicts.

The

The Want of a Manager well skill'd in the Direction of such Solemnities.

To Remedy all which the Undertaker proposes,

- I. To erect in some Place, most commodious for this Metropolis, a *magnificent Amphitheatre*, to be dedicated to the Exercise of that Manly *Art of Boxing*.
- II. That this Building shall be so contriv'd as entirely to prevent the Gentry's being incommoded by the Populace; and as Servants will be admitted to keep Places, the Inconvenience of Attendance or Disappointment will be avoided.
- III. That the Consideration to be paid by the Champions for the Use of the Amphitheatre, shall be determined either by Agreement between the Parties, or left to the Decision of the Gentlemen present.
- IV. That the Public may not be impos'd on by any *fictitious* or *unequal* Battles, none shall be permitted the Benefit of a House but those who have signalized themselves to the Satisfaction of the Spectators, or are notoriously famous for their Bravery and Skill in this noble Art; nor will the Undertaker spare any Pains in procuring such from all Parts of this Kingdom, and *farther* he apprehends all Search would be *useless*.

That it is with the utmost Deference the Undertaker proposes himself as *Manager* of these Solemnities; and as he has been so long conversant therein, and hitherto remain'd invincible, he humbly hopes he shall be esteem'd properly qualified for that important Office, more especially as the Preserva-

tion of *Decency* and *Decorum* at such Ceremonies requires a *manual Authority* in the Person who presides.

As an Affair of this Nature must unavoidably be attended with a very large Expence, the Undertaker hopes to be assisted in it by the *generous Contributions* of those Noblemen and Gentlemen who are Lovers and Encouragers of this heroick Art; and, in Return of their Favours, assures them no Diligence shall be wanting, on his Part, in the Propagation of the Science, the Oeconomy of its Exhibitions, and the Support of that Dignity which is suitable to an Undertaking of such *Noble* and *National* Importance.

Mr. BROUGHTON proposes, with proper *Assistants*, to open an Academy, at his Amphitheatre, for the Instruction of those who are willing to be initiated in the *Mystery* of Boxing; where the whole *Theory* and *Practice* of that truly *British* Art, with all the various *Steps*, *Blows*, *Cross-Buttocks*, &c. incident to Combatants, will be fully taught and explain'd. — And that Persons of *Quality* and *Distinction* may not be deterr'd from entering into a *Course* of these *Lectures*, they will be given with the utmost *Tenderness* and *Regard* to the *Delicacy* of the *Frame* and *Constitution* of the Pupil; for which Reason, *Mufflers* are provided that will effectually secure them from the Inconveniency of *black Eyes*, *broken Jaws*, and *bloody Noses*.

N. B. Any Gentleman may have a private Course of *Lectures* at his own House, and those who honour Mr. BROUGHTON with their Contribution towards his Amphitheatre will be admitted to the public Ones gratis.

SATURDAY, MARCH 19, 1743. [No. 7.]

WHEN I suffer'd Mr. *Broughton's* Proposal for erecting an Amphitheatre for Boxing to be printed last Week, in this Paper, I did not imagine that they would have drawn upon me so severe a Chastisement as is contain'd in the following Letter, which, however, to shew my Candour and Meekness under Rebukes, I have faithfully communicated to the Public.

JEFFREY BROADBOTTOM.

Mr. BROADBOTTOM,

 EADING in your Paper of last Week an Advertisement, Entitled, *Proposals for erecting an Amphitheatre for the Manly Exercise of Boxing*, I was at first pleas'd with the Design, but on a more critical Examination discover'd it to be a *Libel in Disguise*, maliciously meant to expose the present Government, and the most *wise and honest* Administration that perhaps was ever employ'd in the Management of it. I soon perceiv'd by the dangerous Principles conceal'd under this fictitious Scheme, that it must be the artful Production of some *Anti-ministerial Incendiary*, not of any real *pugnatical Professor*, and that it owed its Birth rather to a *Cocoa Tree Conclave*, than a *Tottenham Gymnasium*, as you, perhaps thro' an Error in Judgment, and not from any Malignity of Intention publish'd so dangerous and seditious a Libel; I think the least Reparation you can make the present Ministry, is to give the Public the following Detection of it. — The Proposer begins with these Words,

“ *Atb-*

“ Athletics (that is Opposition) have ever been encourag’d in those Countries where Strength and Valour have been the Characteristics of the Inhabitants.”

How plain is the Intent of this Passage, for as the Horse, from an Ignorance of his Strength, submits to the heavy Burthen and galling Lash of an imperious Rider, so it has ever been a Maxim in Government to conceal from the People, as much as possible, the Knowledge of their own Power. This Maxim was so industriously pursu’d by the late Administration, and so successfully compleated by the present, that no one is ignorant with what a laudable Vassalage this Kingdom has for many Years obey’d the *Bit* of Authority, and answered to the *Spurr* of Oppression, insomuch that it is become a common Observation that no Nation was ever so *bard rid*. But this Proposer, in order to stir up the People from their liege Servitude and peaceful Obedience, tells them of their *Strength* and *Valour*, and intimates, that by the Exercise of these Qualities they may still dismount those who have jockeyed themselves into the *Saddle* of Government, without either Skill or Resolution to manage the *Reins* of it. ———

“ Britons then who boast themselves Inheritors of the Greek and Roman Virtues should follow their Example.”

Every one who is the least acquainted with the History of these Countries must know, that the *Greek* and *Roman* Virtue consisted in a vigorous Defence of their Liberties, and an exemplary Punishment of the Invaders of them; what then is meant by recommending their Example to us *Britons*, unless it be scandalously to insinuate, that among us the former have been violated, and the latter have been *screen’d*; but surely the ignominious Disgrace of the late Ministry, and the uniform Prin-

Principles of the present, evidently prove the Malice of such Suggestions.-----The Proposer proceeds in the following Words :

“ And endeavour to eradicate that former Effeminacy which has so fatally insinuated itself among us, and almost destroy’d that glorious Spirit of British Championism which was wont to be at once the Terror and Disgrace of our Enemies.”

By foreign Effeminacy he must certainly mean here an effeminate Behaviour towards Foreigners ; and this is confirm’d by saying it has almost destroy’d that glorious Spirit which was wont to be the Terror and Disgrace of our Enemies : But this Reflection is equally false and scandalous, since I defy our Annals to produce in any twenty Years more Fleets equipp’d, or more Armies rais’d (as the Records of the Navy and War Office can testify.) Has not this Nation with the greatest Intrepidity supported the Fatigues and Expence of continual *Recruitings, Encampings, Reviewings, Transportings, and Hirings* ? Has not one Ministry bravely dar’d to make every Power in *Europe* our *Foe*, and has not another as bravely dar’d to take the Field without having any one our *Friend* ; which, I will venture to say, is what none of their Predecessors ever had Spirit enough to execute. Is not this *Championism* ? What then becomes of our Proposer’s *foreign Effeminacy*, since if our Ministers have been guilty of any Error, it is not that they have had too little *Valour*, but that they might have had more *Prudence* ?-----He goes on.

“ For if the Prowess of a People is the natural Bulwark of a Country, the Encouragement of this Quality will excite every one to an Emulation and Improvement of it.”

By which the Proposer would plainly imply that the natural Bulwark of this Country has been neglected.

lected. But I would ask him what Occasion we now have for this *natural Bulwark*? Have not our Ministers, thro' a particular Tenderness for this Nation, procur'd it numerous *foreign Defenders*; nay, have they not prevailed on his Majesty, from an Excess of Generosity, to risque the Lives of his own natural born Subjects, rather than one Drop of our dearer Blood should be spilt; and after all this shall we murmur to pay the *Wages* of War to those, who for *our Sakes only*, hazard the Dangers of it? — uncourtly Ingratitude! The next Remark is,

“*That Foreigners tremble less at the Firelock than the Fist of a Briton.*”

Who but perceives this Reflection to be levell'd at the *Uselessness* of our standing Armies, and certainly can proceed from no Friend to our Constitution, for the Defence of which only they are supported. I will not pretend to say of what Use they have been for some Time, with Regard to our *foreign Enemies*, but will venture to affirm they have been of singular Efficacy in *Domestic Affairs*; for, without their Aid, how should *Riots be quell'd*, *Returns be secur'd*, *Antiministerial Boroughs punish'd*, *Senators provided for*, *the People awed*, or *Ministers indemnified*; and surely their great Increase of late is some Proof of their Usefulness, since it is not to be suppos'd that those who were for their *Augmentation* were unacquainted with the *Advantages* flowing from it. — The Proposer next gives us the following malicious Quotation.

“*Nunc dextra ingeminans ictus, nunc ille sinistra;
Nec mora, nec requies, quam multa grandine nimbi
Culminibus crepitant: Sic densis ictibus Heros
Creber utraque manu pulsatur, versatque Dareta.*”

Is not this plainly intended to describe and point out a Ministry *buffeting* and *redoubling* its Blows on the *Constitution*; and every one must perceive that by *Densis ictibus*, this Jesuitical Proposer means the Innovation of *Hanoverian* Troops, Loss of triennial Parliaments, Defeat of Place and Pension Bills, Exorbitance of Supplies, Gin Bills, Lotteries, &c. by which Means he would *basely* infer that this Country is in Danger of being subdu'd; and whoever considers that *Dareta* signifies a *boasting Coward*, or *one who dares do nothing*, will with very little Difficulty make the Application, and confess, the Author might as well have *plainly* express'd his wicked Meaning, and at once have wrote *versatque Britanniam*.

Among the various Reasons this Proposer gives for the Decay of *British* Championism, (or *Virtue*) one is,

“ *The present Indiscrimination at the Place appointed for the Exhibition of these Ceremonies, between Persons of the first Rank and Condition, and those of the meaner and lowest Class.*”

Does not the Place of *Exhibition* here plainly allude to a certain *Chapel*, and intimate that its Dignity is prostituted by the Admission of the *lowest* Class of Men: That the *Indiscrimination* there between *Master* and *Servant* is of dangerous Consequence; and that Secretaries, and Secretaries Secretaries, Clerks, and Clerks Clerks, ought to be excluded: But tho' *Poverty* is too often the Parent of *Venality*, yet as *Virtue* is not totally incompatible with *Rags*, may not the Vassal for the Sake of the Publick often disobey the Dictates of his Master; nay how often this has been done at the Expence of their Places and Employment, let the last twenty Years testify. — Another of our Proposer's Reasons is,

H

“ *The*

“ *The exorbitant Charge of an Amphitheatre.*”

This I think is too plain to need any Detection, since every one must, at first Sight, perceive the wicked Tendency of it, which is to attack the Honour and Dignity of our Legislature, by implying that an *exorbitant Corruption* prevails in it. But how can our Proposer complain of this when he himself allows, that the Preservation of Decency and Decorum at such Solemnities requires a *manual Authority* in the Person who *presides*: Now what is this *manual Authority* but the Power of Reward; and surely when we consider what severe Conflicts some late Patriots have undergone for their Conscience and Country's Sake, by sacrificing their Popularity, and submitting to become the Scorn of their *old Friends*, and the Slaves of their *new*, none can think any *Reward exorbitant*, or any *Exaltation unmerited*. The last Reason our Proposer gives is,

“ *The Want of a Manager well skill'd in the Direction of such Solemnities.*”

Is not this most evidently meant as a scandalous Reflection on the *Insufficiency* of our present Ministry for the Management of public Affairs; but whoever reflects on their Conduct must be convinc'd of the Falshood of this Suggestion. Were ever more dutiful Addresses obtain'd, more numerous Armies rais'd, more copious Supplies granted, more loyal Bills carried; and, after all this, can any one be hardy enough to affirm that a certain Place has not been most *skilfully manag'd*. Have not the Ministers, from a paternal Indulgence, even condescended to gratify our very Vices, and wisely provided for the Exigencies of Government, by satisfying the Inclination of the People in those favourite Articles of *Gaming* and *Drinking*? Is not this public Spirit? Have not their indefatigable La-

Labours in the Vineyard of Authority, tho' call'd in at the *eleventh Hour*, equall'd theirs who before them underwent the Burthen and Heat of the Day? And have they not in *one Year* only merited the same Reward due to a late twenty Years Administration? What Characters then are secure from Detraction? But as Calumny is a Tax upon Power, I dare say the present Possessors will chearfully submit to the *Tax* rather than part with the *Possession*.

I could produce many other Parts from these *Allegorical Proposals*, which would equally evince them to contain the most *dangerous, seditious, and antiministerial Libel* that was ever yet suffer'd, by the Lenity of any Government, to pass unpunish'd, but imagine I have already satisfy'd every candid Reader that it must be the Production of some *disaffected Jacobite*, if not a *designing Jesuit*; and indeed by the Malignity and Subtilty of it I am rather induc'd to believe it owes its Origin to the latter: But I would have this Tool of Faction know that it is not in the Power of the whole *Sorbonne*, with all its Craft, to alter the People's Opinion of a Ministry, supported by the Integrity of a C——, the Steadiness of a B——b, the Abilities of a S——ys, the Purity of a W——ea, the Perspicuity of a P——m, and the Veracity of a X——e.

I am, Sir, your Servant,

When you shall better deserve it,

TIM. SCRUB.



SATURDAY, MARCH 26, 1743. [No. 8.]



WAS once acquainted with a celebrated Physician, who might properly be called the *Apostle of Abstinence*: He prescrib'd it to others; and, what is more extraordinary, he practis'd it himself for near 20 Years. He had several Companions, (as well as Patients) who adopted the same Hypothesis, and proceeded upon the same Principles and Practice: *Milk, Roots, Pulse*; in short, the whole Botanic, and Farinaceous Families, were the highest of their Indulgence to the most inflam'd Appetite. Roast Beef, Turkey and Chine, Ham and Chickens, or any of their seducing Society, whether single and under their own Denomination, or whether cemented and blended by a *happy Coalition*, they held as dangerous, and destructive to the *human Constitution*, as Corruption, Bribery, or Pensions can be to the *Body Politick*.

Thus he went on practising and starving himself and his Followers, while his Fellow Professors went on laughing and filling their Pockets and Bellies with Money and good Wine, and their Patients with comfortable Jellies and Restoratives: Till at last some few of his Companions, as well as himself, emaciated, and sick in every *Sense* of their own Self-denying System, and envious of the different Appearance that attended the contrary Practice, laid their Heads together, and resolving to quit their old Companions, they deputed him to lay their shatter'd Condition before a plump sleek Acquaintance of his, who was pretty eminent in the contrary Method of Prescription and Practice, which he did after the following Manner.

Dear

Dear Doctor, says he, you well know how strong and unwearied Advocates my Friends and I have been for *Abstinence*; we have opiniatred that Point, till we have hardly left ourselves any Thing to abstain from, and are now pretty near reduced to the State of having neither Stomach, nor any Thing to put into it. Pray consult with your Friends a little, and give us your Advice what we shall do to recover our Appetite, and also at the same Time wherewithal to satisfy it.

My good Friend, replies the Doctor, we have long wonder'd, with a Mixture of Concern and Ridicule, that a Man of your serious Make should so much mistake our *English* Constitution, as to imagine it would long bear Starving. But however, since you begin to relent and find your Error, as you have acquired some sort of Reputation by the Oddness of your Perseverance, we are willing to take you into our Protection; and, to comfort you, I must observe to you, that there is this singular Felicity attending your Case, that the Remedy absolutely necessary to begin your Cure, is what you are amply provided with; which is, that in the first Place, you must eat your own Words. You may have enough of them, they always went for nothing, and when you have thoroughly swallowed that Prescription, we will see and order something to improve that attenuated State you seem so heartily weary of.

Look ye, dear Doctor, says my Friend, for the latter part of your Prescription, I like it very well; but for the former, tho' possibly we should stick at few Things to rectify, and raise the depress'd State this cursed Hypothesis has brought us into, yet to eat our Words would be of so hard Digestion, would set so uneasy upon our Stomach, that I fear we should never be able to keep them.

No

No Matter, says the Doctor, whether you keep or not, we have not the least Intention to trust you, I assure you,———and if we take you at all, it is only to show the Superiority of *our Science*, who act under the Royal Charter, over that of a parcel of Deserters, who have set up new Hypothesis in Fairs and Markets, and stroll about the Countries, poisoning his Majesty's innocent Subjects.

But dear Doctor, replies my Friend, do you reckon for nothing the Uneasiness our Consciences must feel at such a sudden Change: The Disgrace and Reproach from our Friends and Followers; the infinite and irretrievable Loss of Reputation; the ———. As to your Conscience, old Acquaintance, says the Doctor, I do not imagine any thing you can say or do will much alarm that: Your Conscience ought to know you much better than the World does, better indeed than you know your selves; and therefore ought to be prepared for any Change without being alarm'd, or else 'tis a very mistaken, a very misplaced Conscience; such a one as I very little comprehend, for I have seldom met with the Conscience of a F——— I in the Custody of a Kn———. But your Reputation forsooth, and the leaving your Friends.———And what have I to do with all that? I thought you were convinced of your Errors, and apply'd to me as an old Friend, to put you into a *thriving* Regimen; and when I begin to prescribe the Method to bring you into it, the shortest Way, you *pop me* Reputation and Friends, and I know not what. Look ye, Sir, if these Qualms remain, I must proceed *Symptomatically* with you, and begin by sending to *Bath*, which is a Specific for this sort of Complaint; and so Step by Step, lead you through the whole *Materia Medica*.———Besides, don't you perceive that
'tis

'tis your Distemper, and not your Reason that speaks? Did any Man's Reason ever tell him that Regard for Reputation or Friends made part of the *Thriving System*? Where are the Instances of it? Where the Probability? Look ye, I'll be short with you, if-----

Nay, dear Sir, says my Friend, don't be in a Passion; when I contemplate that *Floridness* of *Complexion*, that *sleek, round, unthinking Countenance*, that goodly *Protuberance* of *Abdomen*, I cannot but own the Superiority of your Luck, if not of your Science, and should be glad to be transplanted into so fertile a Soil; but methinks I would do it with as little Disgrace, and as much Dignity as——
Z——ds, cries the Doctor, to hear a Fellow talk of Dignity——Why you are no more made for Dignity than Dancing——You might almost as soon set up for a Wit. In a Word, I have told you the first Principle of your Cure, no more Qualms; but fall to your Diet heartily, and digest it as you can; and then bring me half a Dozen of the strongest Stomachs among You, and I'll place you in that Part of the College where we *treasure* up our most infallible *Nostrums*.——But have a Care how ye behave, you are not to imagine that you have any Authority there, and are to act of your own impenetrable Head.——No——you shall have a Running, as 'tis call'd in the Kitchen; and if you recover any Strength and Seemliness, we shall then think of employing you farther. In the mean Time you may lodge in the best Apartments, during the Absence of our *worthy Brother*, to whom they still belong.——But remember, I say, not to be meddling, or to imagine you have any thing to do with the Direction——No——That is still to remain in the Hands of the same worthy Physician; whom, having indeed a little over eaten,
not

not to say gorg'd himself, we have been obliged to send to the Infirmary for a little while : But he mends daily, and by the Care of the College, and the great Partiality and Affection of the *President*, is like to do very well, and may possibly soon appear again, at the Head of his Department, with as good a Stomach as ever.

Who, Sir, cries my Friend, in a Heat, what Dr. *Gobble Gold* ! that Quack, that Man-Eater, that Devourer of Kingdoms ! have we not all bound ourselves by damning Oaths to have nothing to do where that *Vorago* is concern'd.

I don't design you shall, replies the Dr. you have been told over and over again, that you are to have nothing to do.—What the Devil would you have to do?—What are you fit for?—Examine—But for fear I should descend from that Gravity which is the Guard and Characteristic of my Profession——I shall take my Leave of you, with this Observation, partly taken from your own Expressions : If you can neither *keep* your Words, nor *eat* your Words ; you must expect to be rejected by your *old Friends*, without any Hopes of acquiring *new ones* ; and so I leave you to your Meditations.——

My Friend call'd some of his most trusty Companions together, and they unanimously agreed to accept the Doctor's Proposal without any Hesitation.——They have been under his Hands now near a Twelvemonth, and they have indeed recover'd some Flesh, but so little Spirit, that 'tis confidently reported, he sees he shall get no Credit by them, and will continue them no longer in the College : And I am credibly informed that the present Consultation is, whether they shall be provided for, as *Out Pensioners*, or reduced to their former Regiment and sent again to *Grass*.

To JEFFREY BROADBOTTOM, Esq;

S I R,

IN your first Paper you was pleas'd to express a very laudable and honest Resolution, that your Pen should be employed in animadverting on the Conduct of a Sett of Gentlemen, who from being Patriots had been transform'd into Ministers, and had thought proper to change their Principles with their Station, forgetting all their past Promises and Engagements, and pursuing the very Measures which for near twenty Years together they had clamoured against as pernicious and wicked in their Predecessors.

If there be indeed any such Gentlemen, I heartily applaud your Zeal, and wish you Success in exposing them: But give me leave to remind you, that while you are correcting them for actually doing what they ought not, it might be seasonable to admonish them likewise of some Things which may be left undone. I am led to give you this Hint by an excellent Pamphlet, publish'd last Week, Entituled, *Serious Considerations on the several high Duties which the Nation in general, as well as its Trade in particular, labours under, &c.*

I could heartily wish you would recommend this little Treatise to the Perusal of every *Englishman*: It deserves the Attention of the Subjects, and the Regard of Men in Power. The Author (whether Merchant, or Tradesman, or Landholder, is uncertain) has laid down a clear, intelligible, and I think, practicable Scheme for preventing the Running of Goods, and raising all the public Supplies by one single Tax.

This is so obviously for the Benefit of every single Subject of *Great Britain*, that I hope it will meet with a general Approbation. There is but one Objection to it, viz. that it will lessen the Number

of Officers employ'd about the Revenue : But our present new Ministers will surely be very ready to get over this Difficulty ; for you and I, Sir, very well remember how sensible these Gentlemen were of the Danger arising to the Liberties of the People of *England* from too great a Number of Officers, when they brought in their Place-Bill, Pension-Bill, and, above all, their Proposal for a Triennial Parliament. Exert yourself therefore, Sir, and put them in Mind that the World expects some Attempt of this Kind from them for the Relief of the People of this Kingdom. Let them look into the above-mentioned Pamphlet, and improve, if they can, the Author's Plan : But if nothing of this Nature be attempted by them, let their Negligence (to give it no harder Name) not escape your severest Censure,

And you will oblige your humble Servant,

M. FREEPORT,



SATURDAY, APRIL 2, 1743. [No. 9.

An APOLOGY for the LIBERTY of the PRESS.

*Difficile est SCRIBERE in eum qui potest
PROSCRIBERE.*



T may seem absurd under an *Administration* which is indebted for its *Power*, and in a *Country* which owes its *Constitution*, to the *Freedom of Writing*, to attempt at this Time any Apology for the *Liberty of the Press*. But the Appearances of Objects often vary according to the Situations of Persons, and the *Medium* through which they are beheld : And there

there are certain Times in which it may be necessary to reduce Things to their first *Principles*; I will not therefore affect to give any private Reasons for this Attempt, because I shall be deterr'd by no *private* Danger in pursuing it, and will submit the Fitness or Unfitness of this Undertaking to the Judgment of the Public. In doing this, as I shall advance nothing but what is agreeable to the Principles of *Liberty*, so no Punishment, attending an Attempt of that Kind, can be *unwelcome*, because *no Punishment* can be inflicted for using the decent *Liberty of the Press* without destroying the *Liberty of England*, and when that is gone, no Man of *Sense* or *Spirit* will be very solicitous about his own.

The Freedom of the Press, by which I mean the *Freedom which every Subject has to communicate his Sentiments to the Public, in that Manner, which may make them most universally known*, is a Freedom which does not proceed from any Popularity in the Frame of the *English* Constitution, but is essential to and coeval with all free Governments, into which it is not *adopted* but *born*. In this Country, therefore, we have it not from Instruction, or Indulgence of Governors, but from the very Spirit and Nature of our original Liberty. In short, whatever the most learn'd Philosophers have laid down, with regard to the Principles of *Natural Self-defence*, is, with equal Justice, applicable to *Political*.

The wisest and the freest Nations when they first regulated their Government, seem to have had one Principle in their Eye, which was to contrive the readiest and most effectual Manner of guarding against the Abuses which Ambition, Avarice, or any Failing whether arising from the *Weakness of the Understanding*, or the *Badness of the Heart*,

might introduce into *Society*. They consider'd that it was impossible to secure their *Liberties* by their *Laws*, unless those *Laws* were rightly understood and virtuously executed : They conceived that it was impossible to bind Government so strict by any possible Institution or Compact, as not to leave it still a Power which might be abus'd, by a *Collusion among those who exercise it*. In such an Event, they knew, that Law itself will become the *Protection* and the *Safety* of its own *Violator*, that their *Constitution might thereby subvert itself*, and that the only Means to preserve it was to have Recourse to the Exercise of that *discretionary Power*, which is *tacitly* vested in the *collective Body* of the People, to redress the *Evils of Government* from whatever Cause they proceed. Their first Aim therefore naturally was to provide for their having an early, just, and compleat Information of the Abuses of Government. For this Purpose they assembled, in a public Manner, with a legal Capacity of enquiring into, judging and punishing all Delinquents against the State, whether screening themselves within the Terms of the Law, or setting it at Defiance.

This Power amongst the *Greeks* and *Romans* was design'd to have the same Effect, which the People of *England* hope for from the *Liberty of the Press*. The great Political Parties in the Forum inform'd the People of their several *Principles, Views, and Motives*; they loaded their Adversaries with all the *ignominious Reproaches* that could serve to *expose* their *Administration*, to *weaken* their *Interest*, or to *ridicule* their *Persons*. But this Information was more quick, and the Decision of the Differences more speedy, than we can suppose any Appeal carry'd on thro' the Press could have here, even tho' the collected Body of the People of *England* had, like the *Greeks* or the *Romans*, a Power of assembling in a *judicial* or *legislative* Capacity.

capacity. The *Democratical* Power in those States was much more *independant*, and more *unmixt* with the *Monarchic* or *Aristocratical* Power than it is in *England*, which tho' a free State, yet the Power of its Subjects in their Collected Capacity is entirely confin'd to *Deliberative* and *Prudential* Considerations, and to a *periodical Election* of those who are to judge for them.

I don't design to enter into any particular Description of those Governments, it is sufficient for my Purpose if the general Propositions I have laid down are just, and undeniably evident. The Liberty of exposing their Superiors, by Speeches, Writings, Representations, and *all other Methods of conveying their Sentiments to the Publick*, was among the antient *Greeks*, while their Liberty remain'd in uncorrupted Vigour, excessive, and beyond any thing ever claim'd by the most zealous Advocates for the Press in this Country. But when this *Luxuriancy* came to be pruned, tho' with the *gentlest*, the *most artful Hand* that ever was apply'd to any Reformation, the Operation had so fatal an Effect upon the Liberties of *Greece* that they daily droop'd, till at last they wither'd and dy'd away.

As I am not justifying the *Excess* of *Abuse* practis'd by the *Greeks* against their Superiors, so it can be nothing to my Purpose to prove it; it being allow'd by *all* Writers and condemn'd by *most*. I shall therefore take a very short View of this Case as it stood among the *Romans*.

During the Times of the Commonwealth there was no Law, that I can find, against Men, whether in a private or public Station, who either by Speaking, Writing, or any other Way, blam'd in the freest Manner the *Administration of the Government*, or the *Persons* of their *greatest Magistrates*. Every Page of their History affords repeated Instances of such

such Liberties, and it can no where be prov'd that they brought upon their Authors any Resentment either from Power or from particular Persons, till the Time of *Cicero*, whose unsufferable Petulance against the greatest Characters in *Rome*, drew upon him a load of private *Ill-will*, but which the Parties affected never durst avow; so unwarrantable, and so *very unmanly* did they think it, openly to resent an Attack of the Tongue or the Pen.

This Impunity proceeded from two Principles: First, because such Liberties could not be censur'd without depriving the Body of the People of those fundamental Rights to which they were entitl'd by the first Principles of their Constitution: And, secondly, because they knew both from Experience and Reason, that if their Actions could stand the Test of a free Enquiry, the Censures or Reproaches of any private Man, or Body of Men, instead of affecting or hurting them would recoil upon their Authors; and that if they could not *stand the Test*, the very *Attempt to punish those who blam'd them*, was a tacit Acknowledgment of their own Guilt.

But upon the Extinction of *Roman Liberty*, the arbitrary Power which succeeded could not brook such Freedoms. It was a Maxim with *Augustus* to preserve *the Forms of the Roman Government* while he abolish'd *its Spirit*.—Unwilling therefore to create such an Innovation as a new *perpetual Law* to punish the Freedom of Writing must introduce; yet hurt and impatient under the Lashes of a petulant Poet one *Cassius Severus*, he put a forc'd Interpretation upon the *Laws de Majestate*, which, says *Tacitus*, hitherto* regarded only *overt Acts*, and apply'd them to the Punishment of Writings. The only Law that he could wrest to this detestable Purpose was the *Lex Appuleia de Majestate* which

* *Facta arguebuntur, dicta impune erant.*

which -past about the Year of *Rome* 652, and was intended to restrain Force and Sedition within that City, but was far from regarding any Writings or Expressions against the Government ; this will appear from the following Instance, which I shall but very briefly touch upon, both to explain the true Nature of what was meant by the Expression *de Majestate*, and to prove that this Free People thought the discretionary Power vested in their collective Body put them above observing the *little Forms of Government and Law* when they were grossly and palpably abus'd by their Magistrates.

Caius Norbanus, who had been Tribune of the People, was accused upon this *Appuleian Law de Majestate* by the young *Sulpicius* for having rais'd a Sedition in *Rome* on Account of *Q. Cæpio*, who had been Consul, and by his Mismanagement had lost a very fine *Roman Army*, which he *commanded against a contemptible Enemy*. Great Violences had been committed in this Sedition ; the *lawful Magistrates* were driven out of the Temple, and some of the *greatest Men in Rome* were wounded : All which Circumstances were urg'd against the Accus'd with great Address and Eloquence. *M. Antonius* the Predecessor of the famous Triumver of that Name and Council for the Accus'd, instead of denying, admitted the Fact with all its aggravating Circumstances ; but by insisting upon the Right which the People of *Rome* had to *controul Government*, and the *excellent Effects which their Seditions had produc'd in Favour of Public Liberty*, particularly by *driving out Kings*, and establishing the *Tribunetial Power*, he shew'd that such a Sedition was so far from *wounding* that it *vindicated the Majesty of the People*, and his Client was acquitted by a Bench of Judges compos'd of the greatest and most virtuous Men in *Rome*, in the most numerous and illustrious Assembly of the People that had been known.

I am in hopes that the Reader will think this no impertinent Digression, when he reflects upon the many mean Arts practis'd of late by Courtly Apologists to disguise this great fundamental Power of the Collective Body of the *Roman* People, and to varnish over the great Abuses introduc'd by their Governors. But to return to the more immediate Subject of this Paper.

I have already taken Notice that *the Freedom which every Subject has to communicate his Sentiments to the Public in that Manner which might make them more universally known*, was an inherent Principle in the *Greek* and the *Roman* Constitutions; but then this Privilege, which we call the *Liberty of the Press*, becomes much more necessary for preserving the Liberties of the People under a Government, where they are restricted from the Power of *deciding*, and from carrying their Opinions into Judgment and Execution, which is the Case in *England*. The *executive* Power of the Government here, being absolutely independent of the People in every Sense, and the *legislative* Power being but partially and mediately dependant on them, the People of *England* without the *Liberty of the Press* to inform them of the *Fitness* and *Unfitness* of Measures, *approv'd* or *condemn'd* by those whom they have *trusted*, and *whom they may trust again*, would be in as blind a State of Subjection, as if they lived under the most arbitrary and inquisitorial Government; nay their Condition would be aggravated by the melancholy Consideration that they lent their own helping Hands both to forge and rivet their Chains.

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